1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33) 1936 SR9 Carib SR9

sprees children smoke whatever tobacco they can beg from their elders and drink all that they can. One not infrequently sees suckling babies given cassiri by their mothers. Alcohol and tobacco, to the Carib mind, like food and drink, are to be enjoyed by all human beings, although in largest measure by adults in their prime because these latter control the supply.

A wife is theoretically at the orders of her husband. It is supposedly the man who makes the decisions affecting the family. As in most societies, however, the respective influences of the mates upon family policy vary with personalities and circumstances. Matrilocal residence during the first part of married life restrains many a young husband's temper and doubtless trains husbands to assume a more tolerant attitude than they would if outside the wife's village. For a wife who has been mistreated appeals to her relatives, and, if they agree with her, the matter is taken up by them with the husband. If he persists in mistreating her, her kinsmen will eject him from the village. Although matters are sometimes composed between the mates, such a forcible ejection usually is equivalent to divorce. On the other hand, a wife who is habitually lazy and recognized as such by the community may be beaten with impunity by her husband. Actually the women, generally speaking, exert a good deal of influence upon their husbands. A man usually consults with his wife about such matters as taking a trip, building a house, working for outsiders, acquiring trade goods. As has been described, when a man leaves his wife at home while he goes on a journey, he tells her on what day he will return, a date which is recorded by a knotted string which he gives to her. Each day he is gone she unties one of the knots, and if he is not home on the day the string is finally knotless, or at most a few days thereafter, his absence is said to be grounds for divorce. A woman in this case returns to her father's house and becomes available for another marriage. Consequently, men are meticulous about keeping their engagements at home.

Aside from the two grounds of divorce already mentioned there is parting of company by mutual consent. Although no rule is in force, in the cases which I investigated the male children stayed with their father, and the female children with the mother. A plant called wamba may be used as a charm to prevent desertion. It is rubbed on any article belonging to the other mate. When

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586 the latter uses the article in question he or she is overcome with
832 desire for the other.

587 A widow always marries her husband's brother or some member of his kin. If she does not, she risks the accusation that she killed her husband for the love of another man. A widower frequently, but not necessarily, marries his wife's sister.

592 The family is therefore composed of a man and his one or more
597 wives and their unmarried children. Each family has its own house and seldom shares a house with adult individuals other than the spouses and their unmarried children. No case was recorded of an adult male (with the exception of young suitors) occupying a house jointly with another adult male. If several adult women are living in the house they are always found to be wives or concubines of the man of the household. Children of deceased rela-
[582] tives are, however, often adopted. Practically every individual in the community over the age of about twenty is married or has
[736] definite plans to be married. Universal matrimony thus obviates dependency occasioned by old age as well as loneliness. Children of one or the other of the spouses by previous marriages may be included in the family group. If both parents of young children die, they are usually adopted by the maternal grandparents. The family, composed of spouses and their own and adopted children, is thus coterminous with the household.

595 A man may take additional wives if he can persuade their fathers that he can care for them. There seems to be little objection on the part of the brothers or kinsmen of the first wife, if she is not mistreated. Aside from the type of polygamy in which the several wives live in the same household, several cases were recorded of men who were maintaining two households, each in a separate settlement.

Within the household there exists no formal distinction between
(458) children of polygamous or subsequent marriages, and a child's position in the family depends largely upon its personality and age. The same is true of wives in polygamous families.

594 Three means of entrance to the family group are possible: birth, adoption, and marriage. A man is born into a household, and lives there until he is ready to marry, whereupon he establishes a household of his own. The position one occupies in the household group, therefore, depends upon whether the group in question

1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

621 These blood groups in actual life have even less formalism than that with which they have been described here. They cannot be considered sibs, inasmuch as they include relatives on both the male and female sides.

It thus appears that both relationships by birth (that is, relationship by blood) and by marriage are important factors in determining the constitution and stability of the settlement.

621 768 Conversely, the termination of either of these types of relationship by death or, in the case of marriage only, by divorce, may tend seriously to disrupt the settlement. In the first place, death in a house always means its abandonment, along with the clearing in which it is situated. On the map will be noticed several "old settlements" containing tumble-down houses smothered in vegetation. These are overgrown clearings abandoned on account of death. One represents the residence which Miller abandoned upon the death of his first wife. The other is the residential clearing of one Willie, a former resident of Sawari, who, on the death of his wife, married a woman in Kurewa and settled in the latter village. It will be remembered that John Cook joined Sawari settlement on the death of his first wife.

586 The divorce of Caroline from her former husband, MacDonald, removed both of them from their former village of Kwamata. The divorce of Joseph (David's son) from his Kwamata wife removed him from that settlement and added him to the population of Sawari.

TABLE A

621 582 BLOOD RELATIONSHIP AND MARRIAGE IN SAWARI SETTLEMENT

	Blood Group					
	Miller	Cook	David	Mary	Christina	Total
1. Number	29	7	7	8	2	52*
2. Marriages	10	4	3	2	1	12**
3. Marriages into other blood groups in Sawari	6	4	3	2	1	
4. Marriages into groups outside Sawari	2	0	0	0	0	
5. Intra-group marriages	2	0	0	0	0	

* Eight children can each trace relationship to two blood groups because they are offsprings of intergroup marriages.

** There are actually twelve marriages in force in Sawari at present (counting Miller's marriage to Mary's deceased sister). In tabulating for each group the marriages involving its members, as in Row 2, the figures in some cases are duplicated because some of the marriages involved more than one group.

175 628 Upper Barama seem to have been more frequent than contacts among the Carib settlements in the upper section of the Upper Barama. However, it is also apparent that the most immediate external contacts each group of settlements had were with each other.

In 1932-33, the frequency of contacts seems to have been relative to distance. That is, no specialized settlements are reported in respect to seasonal or other activities. All Carib settlements seem 175 361 [582] to have been much alike in their dependence on the rain forest. The bush resources relied upon include predominantly territorial animals and widely dispersed plant species. Desirable land for cultivation, a mixture of sand and clay on a hillside in close proximity to a permanent stream, was limited (Gillin 1936:14). As a consequence, settlements are widely scattered. Figure 7 depicts the dispersed nature of Carib settlements in the Upper Barama River area for this earlier time period. Realignments would occur with the relocation of settlements. After a number of years, a move might be made to more advantageous hunting and gathering and more fertile soil. Other cultural practices as well promoted this scattered, shifting pattern of settlement. A divorce tended to result in the relocation of [586] [572] individuals (Gillin 1936:79-80): the rupture of male friendships, in [775] [768] the relocation of households (1936:136). Also, due to a belief in the malevolent nature of a person's spirit, a clearing would be abandoned in the event of a death (Gillin 1936:165).

175 *177 361 Later, with the availability of external resources, settlements were no longer scattered solely along the Barama River corridor. Over time, a centralization of settlements developed in relationship

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 43]

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

*177 592 Although the resources for subsistence and the organization involved in exploiting them have changed, the household has remained the primary cooperative economic unit among the Upper Barama River [423] Carib population. There is no land tenure, no accumulation of capital [471] in any form, and no inheritance of any consequence. Thus, household [428] composition and the relationships among households have conformed to the immediate situations affecting the problem of subsistence.

Subsistence in the Rain Forest

175 592 For the 1932-33 period, Gillin reports that a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. [737] These children include their own and ones that have been adopted. A relative from the older generation might be absorbed as a dependent. [686] Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members [768] joining existing households or forming new households with available [585] partners. There seems to have been universal marriage for everyone of reproductive age, making the household coterminous with the family (1936:80).

175 342 Households were settled in their cultivated fields. A house structure was commonly a pole frame covered with a roof thatched from various palm leaves. Dimensions varied from six to over thirty feet

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed